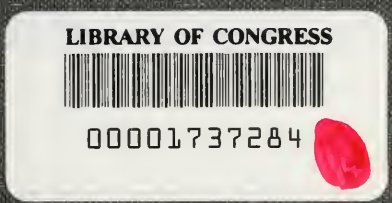
E 448
.S191



The United States Government, the Founder and Necessary Patron of the Liberian Republic.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

American Colonization Society,

JANUARY 18, 1881,

BY

GEORGE W. SAMSON, D. D.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

CITY OF WASHINGTON
LIBRARY

WASHINGTON CITY:
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
1881.

The United States Government, the Founder and Necessary Patron of the Liberian Republic.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

American Colonization Society,

JANUARY 18, 1881,

BY

GEORGE W. SAMSON, D. D.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

WASHINGTON CITY:
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE,
1881.

E448
.S91

NORMAL SCHOOL STEAM PRESS,
HAMPTON, VA.

equally indebted to Africa, have from the first been true representatives of two lines of policy pursued towards the African people in all past ages, and now legitimate in these two distinct nations. England, whose increasing and ever advancing people, pent up in a little island, must seek foreign territory in fulfilling the double duty of self-development and of extending civilization, has in both Asia and Africa, since the loss of her chief American colonies, been steadily seeking territorial occupation; and of course in establishing imperial rule, in both Asia and Africa. The history of her occupation of African territory began, when during the war of American Independence, slaves came within the lines of her armies just as they came within the lines of the Union army during our late war. As a necessity imposed upon them the British Government provided the colored refugees, first, a temporary home in Canada; and then, afterwards, at great cost,—an expense perpetuated to this day,—they were furnished a permanent home at Sierra Leone; a projecting Western Cape of Africa, which became a depot in the line of England's then increasing India trade. Since that day, points of permanent territorial occupation have been sought; first at the Southern Cape of Africa; then at Natal on its eastern coast; then at Lagos commanding the mouth of the Niger, South of the Great Western desert; to which have succeeded a temporary military expedition into Christian Abyssinia, and permanent commercial establishments in the heathen and Mohammedan sections of the Continent. No impartial observer, however,—no honest critic, even, can fail to see and to say that in this occupation, British Christian blessings to the African people have gone hand in hand with British monopoly of African commerce. For exploration she has both wisely and humanely employed such men as Livingstone, the Christian missionary; whose mantle fell even upon the young American Stanley with such grace that the Christian conversion of the African Emperor Mtesa became as truly a part of his mission as the opening of a new field for British trade.

This is *England's* chosen and legitimate policy of promoting civilization in Africa. But, America has another mission; approved alike by the reasoning of her men of science and by the deductions from history which will rule American statesmen. In the winter of 1860 '61, Guyot the Christian scientist, the peer of Agassiz in comprehensive observation and careful analysis, in a course of Lectures at the Smithsonian Institution, brought out the fact that in the Divine design, the three families are three types of human development of mankind, whose history has been alike traced by Moses, Herodotus, Diodorus and Bunsen. These three families are permanent types of buoyant and sincere childhood, of the imaginative and self-sufficient spirit of youth, and of the advanced and advancing thirst for science and philosophy peculiar to mature age. The first family is the Hamitic of Africa; cheerful,

docile, fond of physical employ; simple in its unelaborated language, and isolated except when forced from their home. The second is the Semitic or Asiatic; imaginative, poetic and self-satisfied; with language half-elaborated; arbitrary in rule over inferior tribes, yet overshadowing only those simpler people naturally brought under its shade by its own branching, which extends its spread. The third is the Japhetic or European; never satisfied with the highest attainments in *individual* progress; and ever aspiring for more extended rule over less developed tribes.

In Africa, the home of the first race, the modern British policy was witnessed from time immemorial in Egypt and Carthage on the North; a precedent too often quoted as if it were the only guide in African development. In Egypt foreign kings, as Herodotus records, ruled from the days of Menes, two centuries before Abraham's day; it was into this family Joseph married, and it was under their tuition that Moses became learned in all the wisdom of Egypt. At Carthage, Phenician science and letters were ruling before Eneas, the fugitive Trojan, visited its shore; while Greek colonies ruled in Cyrene before Homer wrote. At the same time, however, in Central Africa, in ancient Ethiopia, now modern Abyssinia, a pure type of the darkest colored African race threatened Egypt in Moses' day; Moses, as Josephus records, led an Egyptian army thither, justifying Luke's record that he was "mighty in deeds" as well as "in words;" and in his exile the Hebrew law-giver married an Ethiopian wife, to whom he proved faithful in his exaltation, though opposed by family pride. As permanent witness to the association of Moses in On with both these superior and inferior races is the fact, that one-tenth of the words of Moses' records are Sanscrit and one-fifteenth are Ethiopic. Shortly after the Hebrews left Egypt under Moses, as Bunsen has shown, Ethiopian kings invaded, and for centuries held, upper Egypt, with its grandest city Thebes. In the culminating spread of the Hebrew power under David, the royal poet and prophet wrote: "Ethiopia shall *soon* stretch out her hands unto God." That promise of early conversion to the faith of the Old Testament was in the reign of Solomon, and through his commerce, realized; illustrating the fact recorded by Luke the historian of Christ and His apostles, that the treasurer of the Queen of Ethiopia was reading the prophet Isaiah, while making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as a proselyte to the Jewish faith. Returning home as a Christian convert, as Bishop Gobat has shown, an independent African power has maintained an independent and high character to this day, resisting the assaults of all foreign powers, and holding fast the Christian faith amid heathenism, untempted by the professedly new supplements to Christianity claimed to have been made by Mohammed. Even when England, in 1868, invaded this African nation, the proud monarch, boasting his descent from the Queen of Sheba,

ed at last because of the conviction, urged by such men as George Whitefield, that the only apparent means of enlightening and Christianizing the people of Africa, who in their native land were warring against and enslaving each other, was to receive and educate them as laborers on the rich lands of the South. At the same time, Jonathan Edwards, whose sincerity none will doubt, urged the same idea, and as a motive to Christian fidelity in evangelizing the colored people in New England.

When the colonial times had passed a new relation was assumed by the state and national governments to the colored people. New England, provided with laborers from the old world and moved by convictions of moral duty, freed her slaves; some of whose descendants yet linger in her large towns. The duty, however, of educating and Christianizing, and if dependent, of providing homes and food for these freedmen, remained, and was met by state legislation. The Southern States, differently situated, retained their colored people in servitude; often indeed making provision for emancipation by individuals, as well as for the care of freed people; and, above all, through the fidelity of Christian laborers winning to a sincere Christian faith a larger proportion of the colored people than has ever before been found among any people in any age.

At the same time the national as well as state governments, recognized and assumed a new relation to the colored people. The provision of the U. S. Constitution limiting the importation of slaves to twenty-one years, was not only an assumed relation, but it implied and compelled another assumed duty when the twenty-one years had expired. The anxious thought and effort of the successive Presidents, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, to provide a fit asylum for slaves brought to American ports after the year when the importation was to cease, not only suggested, but, after various expedients compelled the naval expeditions repeatedly sent, first to explore, then to colonize and then to protect the colonists on the shore of Africa.

Another new relation was assumed, when, after years of ineffectual efforts in co-operation with Great Britain to arrest slave-ships by means of national cruisers on the African coast, the American cruisers were directed to act on the American shore of the Atlantic, while the British cruisers acted on the African Coast. Then, since the naval vessels were no longer detailed for the long voyage, the American Colonization Society was made the agent of the United States government in sending the recaptured slaves to Liberia and in providing a safe asylum and a school for independence on the coast of their native Continent. Then amid all the countless influences which agitated the people both North and South as disunion threatened, the voice of the public conscience, prompting to assumed duty, was triumphant in Congress, while it was

specially deep and earnest in the executive. No American can so realize this as did the two men called to meet frequently the two Christian statesmen, the Secretaries of State and of the Navy, whose duty it was to provide for the necessity laid upon the United States Government. It is enough to state the fact, that, under the two administrations responsible for the integrity of national policy from March 4th, 1853, to March 4th, 1861, the slave trade to all North American ports, the West India Islands included, was completely broken up and all the captured people were colonized by Government appropriations in Liberia.

Yet a new relation was assumed when the war for the union brought Southern slaves within the lines of the Union armies. The duty of providing for them was such, that, promptly on the appeal of President Lincoln, Congress made an appropriation for the foreign colonization of the people desiring such provision. When the scheme of colonization first in Central America, then in the Danish West Indies, had been frustrated, no one but those called to the interview, can ever appreciate the intense anxiety shown by President Lincoln; personally sending for, and conversing two hours with, the sub committee of the Executive Committee of this Society; sending at their suggestion an intelligent colored clergyman as their representative to visit Liberia and report to the clustering crowds of his people gathered at the national Capital. The rush of events during the delay, the decision of the War Department to employ colored troops, and the idea that lands and other provisions at home would be granted to the emancipated people, arrested this stage of Government provision for colonists to the African Republic.

Yet another new stage of Government duty had now arrived; before entering upon whose consideration, since it is the present demand, this fact should be distinctly recalled. In every stage of the relations assumed between this country and its people, towards Africa and her people, the two elements above considered, that constitute civilization and that impose consequent national duty, have been found acting in co-operation; the material without question too often dominant; but the moral silently but surely asserting ultimate supremacy over the Christian people who settled the American continent, and over their descendants of each succeeding generation. Certainly no one will question the essential fact at issue, that since the origin of the United States Government, the moral has steadily gained sway over the material in the motives controlling the policy of the United States people and its representatives in their relation to the colored people. This certainly was the case when by provision of the Constitution, for material considerations, the importation of slaves was permitted during twenty-one years; while in the same Constitution, the *moral* consideration was declared to be ruling *after* that period. This certainly was the case when, though at the planting of the first colony of Liberia material consider-

ations might have influenced some who desired the removal of free colored people, the highest moral convictions ruled the statesmen and philanthropists who wished to provide a safe home for captured slaves, and a Christian Republic, on the dark continent. Surely, too, religious duty led to the supply of most of the colonists, when Christian owners sacrificed thousands of dollars in giving, first freedom, and then ample provision in their freedom, to their most advanced and valuable servants, who went joyfully to their new home. This, yet again, was the case when the measures were inaugurated which broke up the slave trade, and threw on the hands of the United States Government hundreds of captured slaves to be provided for in Africa; for, though material interests can, in almost any act of men and of nations, be supposed to enter into human counsels, such suggestions at this stage of African Colonization are certainly overshadowed by a nobler impulse.

Coming then to the last stage the study of human impulses should be impartially weighed, that decision may be just and duty clear. In his interview with the Committee of the American Colonization Society, asked by President Lincoln, he did drop expressions like this: "I must get rid somehow of this burden of care for the colored people; which may prove, among other weights, the last pound to break the camel's back." But such utterances were momentary ebullitions. The deep, pervading, controlling utterances were like these; "I must do right by these people. I am not sure that I have authority to assume that they are free; and that I shall not be called to account for sending them out of the country. But, I must do the best for them under the circumstances; and I will run the risk of sending them to Africa if they care to go."

As mentioned, however, the delay necessary to make the requisite arrangements, the sending of an agent to explore and bring back his report to the people, the rush of events, the need of immediate provision for the increasing crowds of refugees who had come within the lines, and the policy of the Secretary of War, as well as the hopes that the employ of colored troops inspired as to future Government provision, delayed African Colonization; until a new phase of assumed duty revived the demand.

The impoverished condition of the border Slave States, the destruction and waste of farming implements during the years of war, yet more the exhausted soil, made the necessity of transferring colored laborers to the richer lands of the South, as well as of partial provision for them in their field of labor; and this transfer and provision through the Freedman's Bureau became a Government duty and charge. Accompanying this transfer, disappointment and dissatisfaction in the minds of some of the dependent people naturally arose; then came, afresh, thoughts of Africa as a home that had a future of promise; and this

time for the first, it was the thought, the aspiration and the request of the colored people themselves. Just at this juncture, the experienced and honored Secretary, Rev. R. R. Gurley, finished his course; and by the desire and direction of the Executive Committee, the single individual who for years had been Mr. Gurley's associate in such calls was desired to see the men most likely to take a just view of the demand. President Lincoln was no more; and two intimate personal friends were, therefore, sought; Maj. General Howard, at the head of the Freedmen's Bureau, and Senator W. P. Fessenden, of Maine, whose declining health, had compelled him to resign the post of Secretary of the Treasury, and who was then Chairman of the Finance Committee in the Senate. Both urged that the presence of the colored people was needed as a material force in promoting the labor required in the South, and yet more as a moral element, aiding as voters to secure the protection of their associates in the Southern States and their advancement in social relations. The force and justice of these ends suggested, was allowed; but the counter truth was urged that those who wished to go to Liberia were entitled to seek their individual interests as truly as white citizens, and that to deny this would be to perpetuate the subordination of the interests of the colored people to the interests of the white race. The justice of the plea was allowed. Through General Howard the cost of transport as far as Charleston or Norfolk to emigrants for Africa was granted. Senator Fessenden promised to urge in the Finance Committee of the Senate that the same appropriation be made for freed people wishing to emigrate to Africa, which had in years past been made for slaves captured on the ocean. The untimely death of Senator Fessenden prevented the realization of his design.

During the past year, in the mission of Commodore Shufeldt, the United States Government has again recognized the debt of the American people to the Liberian Republic. It is a debt, with its correspondent responsibilities, both to the American colored people and to the land robbed, since their ancestors were brought hither, of its legitimate population; yet a debt, which, as Jefferson, Madison and Clay all agreed in stating, can be amply repaid provided the people and Government of the United States return to Africa, in place of uncultured and heathen barbarians, a cultivated and Christian people capable of maintaining an independent and growing civilization on the continent of Africa. Whether this can be realized, whether the facts of past history assure this realization, is the vital practical question, worthy our final consideration. For, if this *cannot* be realized, the duty of the American people is doubtful; whereas, if it *can* be realized no shadow of a doubt can be allowed to excuse the neglect of paying our debt.

Here it is of vital importance to notice that England and America, equally implicated in bringing the sons of Africa to our shores, and

ADDRESS.

When intelligent business men are seen to be directing their capital into some new field of enterprise, they are supposed to have reasons justifying their investment. When leading nations are observed to be conspiring in making government appropriations for the common attainment of a like end, it is justly inferred that some adequate motive controls their policy. So, too, the principles of natural religion, the convictions of all men, lead to the necessary conclusion, that, the Divine Author of all, rules alike the material Universe and the families of mankind in their intercourse with each other for the accomplishment of His own wise and kind purposes.

The fact that no less than nine leading powers of Europe,—England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Germany and Russia,—have been engaged the past year in African explorations, certainly indicates a common and an important end which those nations, leading in modern civilization, are seeking to attain. The summary, so concisely and clearly presented in a recent publication of the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, aids the ordinary observer of foreign affairs to analyze and group the reasons that have led to this converging of interests on the Continent of Africa.

There are three classes of corporate bodies that are providing the money appropriations which sustain and promote these explorations; the two former of which have been sustained by Government action. First in natural order are commercial companies; since it is through commerce that the shores and ports of foreign lands are made known, and because the want of products, for the bodily welfare of advanced nations is the first to prompt enterprise. Second in order come scientific associations, including geographical and archæological societies, whose explorations have the double end of opening roads to commerce and of amassing knowledge, interesting or profitable to men as intellectual beings. Third in the list appear religious societies; including educational and missionary organizations.

This grouping of organizations that have been penetrating the continent of Africa on all sides for years, and that have displayed special completeness and activity during the past year, naturally suggests inquiry as to the originating spring, the fundamental source, and especially the harmonizing and all-controling influence in human nature, which prompts the united action of these classes of associations and the favoring co-operation of the nine governments of Europe which have

sustained the two former in their work. Without doubt it is to be found in the principles brought out by such masterly works on the philosophy of history as Guizot's Progress of Civilization in Europe. There are, as Guizot shows, two elements that constitute and that advance human civilization, the material and the moral. The material interests and the physical impulses of men prompt them to the supply of animal wants by the accumulation of wealth and through that of all the conveniences and comforts of bodily life. The moral interests and the mental impulses prompt to the accumulation of knowledge as to all the social and religious relations of mankind and to the supply provided in the teachings of nature and of revelation which meets those wants. In this analysis the great statesman, Guizot, accepts all of truth brought out by such minds as Buckle, Comte and Spencer; who in their seclusion see clearly what men *ought* to be in their relations to the world and to each other; and what they *would* be provided they partook only of the nature of mere animals or of pure angels. But the practical man of affairs, mingling with men in their social, political and religious relations, finds that men partake of both the animal and the angelic natures; that these two natures, which "war within us," and which lead to "wars and fightings among men," must be harmonized; otherwise neither the passive quiet of herded animals nor the active peace of banded angels, will be found in human families, communities and nations. Going farther, with the fearful experience of communistic anarchy fresh and frequent before his own eyes, Guizot saw, as also English and American statesmen have seen, that men need, not simple accumulation of wealth, but the guarantee in man's improved moral instruction, moral training and religious enlightenment, that the accumulation of individual wealth and of national treasures in art, in science and in all the appliances of human advancement, will not in the frenzy of a day be plundered or destroyed. It is this ruling necessity which in the explorations of the past year on the continent of Africa, has caused commerce, science and religion to go hand in hand. It seems to be timely to review, at this sixty-fourth anniversary of the American Colonization Society, the necessary union of Governmental and Associational co-operation in repaying our National debt to Africa.

The consideration of this topic requires a brief review of the assumed relation through the mother country of the American Colonies, and then of the independent United States of America, to the people of Africa.

As Bancroft has clearly shown the Government and people of Great Britain, more truly than of Spain, sought two ends in bringing African slaves into this country. As Governor Brown, of Georgia, has just repeated in the United States Senate, the people of Georgia, who at first resisted the attempts to introduce African slaves into that colony, yield-

whose realm was separated from Ethiopia by only the narrow strait of Bab-el-mandeb, claiming also descent from Solomon through this Queen as one among his thousand wives—this proud and consciously superior African prince proposed an alliance with England by offering to take its widowed sovereign as one of his wives.

With this perpetuated example of the true African's capacity for independent government before them, it was not surprising that at a very early day in the history of the colony at Liberia, the nation, whose ancestors for a century and a half had been ruled by their mother country as dependent colonists, should have entrusted the colored people themselves with the management of their own executive, legislative and judicial affairs. It is confirmatory of this wisdom in the past, that for half a century the U. S. Government has interposed in the affairs of the Liberian Republic, only when, as during the last year, their good offices in aiding the settlement of a territorial question as to boundary, was invited; a question to whose settlement our people are committed because theirs was the original purchase. When now that Republic is asking for emigrants from our shores to increase their population, and when, too, the Colonization Society is specially careful to select the men and the families best fitted in every respect to become useful citizens of the Republic of Liberia, no wonder that the intelligent men, who must act in meeting our national responsibility, declare with assurance that the future stability and success of the Colony is assured. One fact especially, no lover of his country north or south can forget, as a testimony to the moral control exhibited by the colored people of the South at home; which cannot prove deceptive as to their future in Africa. When in the progress of the late war for the Union, four millions of people were assured that emancipation would be their boon if the war finally turned against their masters, not a single instance of insurrection during the four long years of conflict occurred. Without any question it was an all-controlling religious sentiment that lay at the foundation of this anomaly in history. When the remarkable fact is taken into account that 450,000, or about one-eighth of the 4,000,000 of colored people in our Southern States, are communicants in the Christian Churches of a single denomination, that about 220,000, or an added half-eighth are united to a single other denomination—so that without doubt nearly one half of the entire adult population are followers of the Prince of Peace—not only does this fact explain the past as to the order and stability of the Liberian Republic and as to their years of faithful, loyal service in our States, but it is a prophetic voice giving assurance that, through them as colonists, all Africa will become civilized and Christianized.

In a brief but suggestive address following a lecture on the Irish and their promise, by Rev. G. W. Hepworth, delivered a few evenings since, in New York, ex-Governor Hoffman, whose political course is

known, uttered words to this effect: that "God had disappointed the politicians of all schools in our country; and the same might prove true in Great Britain." That was a pregnant truth. The Irish people never can be independent of their union to Great Britain; they may nevertheless, yet be *reconciled* to that union; but in the future, as in the past, without question, the laboring people who aspire to a future of promise for themselves and their children, will seek it by emigration. So in our Union, no state or section will ever be independent of their sister states; that Union both for white and colored citizens, may and will become more universally satisfactory; but the colored people in our country will always be dependent on superior capital and culture, and the more intelligent and aspiring will seek a home where competition will not always keep them behind in the individual struggle for social preferment.

We end, therefore, as we began. Men of business and nations will have their plans for Africa and its people. But the Lord of all mankind, the God of nations, has also *His* plans; and those plans will prevail.

54 W

WERT
BOOKBINDING
Granville, Pa.
Jan Feb 1989
We're Quality Bound